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THE UNIVERSAL PEACE CONGRESS IN ROME. OUTLINE OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

The Universal Peace Congress for 1891 commenced its proceedings, in the Hall of the Capitol, on the afternoon of Wednesday, November 11th. It was originally fixed for the 9th, but was postponed to the 11th, in order to admit of the attendance of some Members of Parliament

who had gone to Naples.

The President of the Congress was Signor Bonghi, with the following for Vice-Presidents: Prince Ruspoli, of Rome, the Marquis Alfieri di Sostegno (Italian Senator), Signor Mazzoleni (Italian ex-Deputy), Signor Moneta (of Milan), M. Frederick Passy (of Paris), Viscount da Torres Solanot (of Spain), Baroness von Suttner (of Austria), Dr. W. Evans Darby (Secretary of the English Peace Society), Mr. Hodgson Pratt (of London), Rev. R. B. Howard (Secretary of the American Peace Society), Mr. L. O. Smith (Sweden), and Mr. F. Bajer (of Denmark).

The Secretaries were: M. Barnardot, of Guise, France, M. Ducommun, of Switzerland, M. Facelli, of Rome, M. Guelpa, of Turin, M. La Fontaine, of Belgium, M. Lulance, of Switzerland, M. Maffi, of Milan, M. Pareto, of Florence, M. Savsich, of Roumania, M. Teso, of Rome,

and M. Wuckvoir, of Roumania.

The discussion was carried on in the English, French and Italian languages. Mr. Samuel James Capper, of London, rendered excellent service by the very able manner in which he translated the Italian speeches into English, for the benefit of his countrymen, and also by

translating the English speeches into Italian.

About two hundred Delegates and visitors were present at the Congress, with a good representation from the English Peace Society, including Mr. H. Fell Pease, M. P., Mr. Joshua Rowntree, M. P., Mr. Caldwell, M. P., Dr. Darby, Mr. Thomas Hanbury, Mr. Fielden Thorp, Rev. Alfred Sturge, Rev. Alexander King, Mr. Thomas Snape, M. Vasseur, Rev. Arthur O'Neill, Mr. George Gillett, Miss L. Robinson, Mr. Felix Moscheles, Mrs. Southey, Rev. Dr. J. G. Gray, Rev. S. L. Beiler, Ph. D., and Mrs. Beiler, Mr. and Mrs F. Fox, Signora C. F. De Luna, Miss Shearman, Miss Rutter, Miss Rowntree, Mrs. Fischer-Lette, Mr. Mark Howarth, Mr. T. Wright, Miss Warren, Miss Richardson and Miss Cornelia Hoare.

of Vienna, the authoress of the popular German Peace assurances of approval. She had had the pleasure of

novel, "Down with Arms" (Die Waffen Nieder), was a centre of special interest.

Previous to each day's sittings of the Congress, a meeting for prayer was held for the presence of such Delegates as inclined to take part in devotional exercises, to supplicate the Divine blessing upon the proceedings of the Congress. It will be remembered that similar prayer meetings were held in connection with the Congresses of Paris and London in 1889 and 1890.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11TH.

INTRODUCTORY MEETING AT THE CAPITOL.

The President, Signor Bonghi, took the Chair, and was supported by the members of the Roman Municipality.

Signor Bonacci, Councillor of the Municipality of Rome, acting for the Syndic or Mayor of the city, who was prevented from being present, welcomed the Delegates to the capital of Italy, and remarked that modern Rome was incomparably more favorable to Peace than either Pagan or Papal Rome had been. He said that the Middle or Papal Ages of Rome only ended in the year 1870.

Signor Bonghi, speaking in French, then made an effective opening address. He said that even if Governments should continue hostile to the idea of Arbitration, yet the humanitarian idea will penetrate the public conscience, and must be promulgated among the masses. The Governments of to-day draw their force from public opinion, and must, in the end, bow to it. That some progress had been made was shown by the fact that in modern warfare the first thought was of care for the wounded. He referred with satisfaction to the increasing tendencies, everywhere to regard mankind as a solidarity and a universal brotherhood. In accordance with this great fact the dictates of reason require the extension and maintenance of Peace. From age to age humanity has had such an ideal before it, but only as an ideal. Now, at length, some practical progress is being made towards its realization. In the former ages of Paganism, of feudalism and of despotism, this ideal was clouded and disregarded. But in this age of republics and of monarchies based on popular support, this ideal of virtue and Peace is being more and more favorably entertained by the really influential mass of humanity.

The Baroness von Suttner then spoke amid loud applause, and after paying some graceful compliments to the President, she said that the publication of her work, "Down with Arms," had already elicited from many parts of Europe, and especially from eminent men of science Amongst the ladies present, the Baroness von Suttner, and literature in Germany and Austria, the most emphatic receiving from many influential persons their adhesion to the cause of international Peace and fraternity.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt then expressed the deep interest in this cause felt in England, and also referred to the indissoluble bonds of friendship existing between Italy and Great Britain. He reminded his hearers, amid applause, of the hearty reception accorded many years ago, in England, to Garibaldi, the illustrious liberator of the Italian people.

Other speakers followed, including the Viscount de Torres, M. Barnardot, Mr. Howard, M. Ducommun and M. Vasseur.

At the close of the speeches, Signor Bonghi was appointed President of the Congress by acclamation, and a resolution having been adopted empowering him to appoint the various Committees, the Congress adjourned.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12TH.

The subsequent sittings of the Congress were held in the Exhibition Palace in the Via Nazionale. After the formal opening of the proceedings the Rev. Alfred Sturge, of Bath (a Delegate of the English Peace Society), moved an address of congratulation to the King and Queen on the birthday of the Prince of Naples. It was seconded by Mr. Samuel J. Capper, who said it was the House of Savoy which had made it possible for them to meet that day in Rome.

Captain Siccardi, of Milan, advocated the substitution of an armed nation for standing armies. The popular agitation for this end must, he said, be promoted in all countries simultaneously. That would be the corner-stone of the future edifice of Peace.

Signor Mazzoleni described the rivalry of the working classes as one of the causes of war. Consequently the Societies of the friends of Peace should try to induce the directors of industrial establishments to suppress this particular source of hostility.

M. Passy, of Paris, pointed out the danger of too greatly exciting the popular feeling. M. Pleva, of Roumania, recommended appeals being made to all the European Parliaments and to the peoples not to return Members who would not pledge themselves to a policy of Peace.

Mr. Story, an American, read a letter from Mr. Blaine to the United States Minister at Rome, enclosing a copy of an agreement for Arbitration adopted at the Pan-American Conference. Any foreign nation could accept it by signing a copy.

M. Gaillard, of Paris, in an exceedingly clever speech, courteously intimated how very glad the Peace Congress would be to learn that the United States were about to pay homage to the principles which the Congress is pressing on the notice of Europe, by accepting Arbitration in her dispute with Chili. M. Gaillard, also, regretted that some of the most popular of French novelists had perverted and prostituted their talents to the praise of war instead

Mr. S. J. Capper reminded the Congress of the valuable services rendered to Peace by the very interesting and instructive novels by two Frenchmen, MM. Erkmann-

Mr. Thomas Snape, of Liverpool, thought more attenthan to that of Arbitration. The latter had made progress described as the first Apostle of Universal Peace. He also gave an interesting account of the action taken by from this Peace Congress, and regretted the general

the United States Government and the Pan-American Congress at Washington in relation to Arbitration.

PERMANENT CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

Mr. S. J. Capper moved that the efforts of all the friends of Peace should be directed to the establishment of a permanent Congress of Nations, to which all International disputes should be referred, so that quarrels may be adjusted by law, and not by violence.

One speaker demanded that the Czar should be called

upon to grant a Constitution to his people.

M. Mazzoleni and Mr. Felix Moscheles spoke of the value, in the interests of Peace, of attempts to solve the great economic problems which so closely affect the nations, separately and collectively. Mr. Moscheles would also like to see the establishment of an International Congress of Arbitration, composed not of kings, but of eminent jurists. M. Passy and Mr. Pratt both referred, with approbation, to the excellent example furnished by the United States, in reference to the subject of International Arbitration.

The same day, a flag was displayed which had been brought by Mrs. Ormsby from America, and to which an inscription was pinned stating that it was made of American silk in America, and was first hung in the Hall of Independence, in Philadelphia, on the 399th anniversary of the discovery of the continent by Christopher Columbus. It is sent to the Congress at Rome as a flag of Peace from the shores of America by American women. Accompanying it was sent a cordial address from American ladies, expressing their sense of the value of the labors of the Italian leaders of Peace advocacy.

EDUCATION.

Mr. Joseph Agnanus spoke earnestly in advocacy of a definite and general inculcation of Peace principles by teachers and schoolmasters. Signor Mazzoleni (Italy) praised the exertions in this direction already put forth by the Dutch Society "Pax Humanitate," and by M. Hermann Molkenboer, of Bonn.

Mr. Fielden Thorp, of York, and Rev. Arthur O'Neill, of Birmingham, two Delegates of the English Peace Society, together with M. Frederick Passy, of France, each joined in support of this important question, the introduction of Peace and Arbitration, to the favorable attention of young persons in colleges and schools. Mr. O'Neill described himself as being a disciple of John Bright. These speakers were warmly received by the assembly.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt urged that the teaching in schools should be guided by the principle of imbuing children at an early age with an idea of the horrors of war and the benefits of Peace. Mr. Pratt also advised the Congress to draw up a report on the present tendency of school legislation, and forward its resolutions to the Ministers of Public Instruction in different countries, with a request that they should furnish, in regard to these resolutions, the indications necessary to enable the Congress to draft a general scheme of legislation on this question.

Signor Beisso (Genoa) followed on the same lines.

Dr. Pastula, who spoke as a representative of Free tion ought to be given to the question of Disarmament Thought, eulogized the example of Christ, whom he of late years; the former had gone backward. Mr. Snape deplored the entire absence of the Catholic priesthood indifference or opposition of the priests to Peace and to its inculcation amongst the young and the faithful under their care.

He added that the peasantry of Southern Italy would only receive peace in the name of the holy and loving Christ, who sealed His religion with His blood, and he exhorted the advocates of Peace not to depart from this most reliable foundation of their work.

Signor Lorini concurred with these words. The Baroness von Suttner said that in Vienna the schoolmasters generally were favorable to Peace. A lady thought that all schoolmistresses ought to unite in inculcating Peace to their pupils.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13TH.

After the usual formal opening, the President, Signor Bonghi, mentioned that, on the proposal of an American Delegate, a message of homage and good wishes had been sent to King Humbert. His Majesty had sent a reply by telegraph which Signor Bonghi read, amid cheers. expressed the King's satisfaction at receiving the sympathetic message of the Peace Congress, and his hope that the humanitarian views of the Delegates would meet with success.

A resolution to the following effect was proposed by Dr. Clark, M. P., and seconded by M. Bernardot:—(1) All Parliaments to be urged to take measures to promote Peace; (2) all customs barriers between nations to be abolished; (3) Arbitration to be introduced for the settlement of labor disputes.

Dr. Darby, Secretary of the Peace Society of Great Britain, moved a resolution expressing sympathy with the Hon. David Dudley Field, President of the London Congress, in his illness. This was approved by the Congress, and embodied in a telegram. and forwarded to Mr. Field in the name of the assembly.

M. Ducommun brought in a report prepared by a Committee appointed to consider the question of the establishment of a second International Peace Bureau.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt supported this Report of the Commission, which had been presented by M. Ducommun, and in the course of his speech, remarked that he understood Dr. Darby was going to speak in opposition to this proposal, and he would be glad if he would speak at once, so that he might reply. He hoped Dr. Darby would see his way to accept this report.

Dr. Darby said he would at once respond to the request of Mr. Pratt, in order that a misapprehension might be removed from the discussion. He did not think Mr. Pratt was justified in assuming that he should offer any opposition. The position of the Peace Society on this subject was expressed in a resolution which had been published, and which he would now read. They would see from that resolution that the Peace Society had no desire to discourage any progressive action. That it was always ready to co-operate with all societies on the Continent, and all who were working in favor of Peace, the whole history of the Society would show. After giving a brief résumé of the history of the Society's work on the Continent, Dr. Darby added that, in the face of these facts, it was not possible to assert that the Society had shown any disposition to oppose or discourage any really practicable and wise endeavor to promote the cause of Peace.

were anxious to see some prospect of its accomplishment and successful working. That they had not seen this, was evidenced by the resolution which formed his instructions.

The reply they made to the application they had received on the subject was that they were not yet in possession of the needful details as to the permanent responsibility, the adequate supply of funds, and the requisite safeguards of action, which would be essential for the satisfactory working of an International Peace Bureau.

These were important and necessary points, and such as justified them in asking for really some practical scheme. He was unable to go beyond his instructions, and therefore could not comply with the desire of Mr. Pratt, to accept their proposals, nor could be consider his Society bound by any resolution, or committed to any course they might adopt. This he would promise, that any resolution passed by the Congress, or any proposals the promoters of this scheme might have to make, would receive the cordial and thorough consideration of his Committee, and would be accepted or rejected by them on its own merits. He had not spoken his own opinions on the subject, nor did he intend to take part in the debate. He was precluded from doing so by the resolution of the Committee.

He would, however, add this on his own account. He had followed the discussion of the International Parliamentary Conference, and had seen the method by which the resolution adopting its own Bureau was decided, and he was bound to say that neither from the discussion of that body, nor in the way adopted to secure the result of a vote, had any light come to him on the points mentioned by his Committee. He would, however, have pleasure in reporting to them the decisions and proposals of the Congress.

An excited discussion followed, in which a great variety of opinions was expressed in reference to the establishment of a bureau. This discussion was cut short by the application of the clôture, which was soon called for, and, in spite of protest, rigorously applied. Finally it was concluded to form a bureau, in addition to the entirely separate and independent Peace Bureau, instituted a few days previously by the Parliamentary Peace Conference.

The Bureau now established by the Congress will only be amenable to the Congress, and not to the Conference. It will also be entirely independent of all existing Peace Societies and Committees. But it will have its own small Committee, consisting of some half-a-dozen gentlemen scattered over different countries and continents, including Mr. Pratt, of England; Mr. A. H. Love, of America; M. Ducommun, of France; M. Mazzoleni, of Italy; and M. F. Bajer, of Denmark.

The Congress, on November 13th, adopted resolutions in favor of partial disarmament, and recommending the conclusion of Arbitration Treatics, the constitution of an International Tribunal of Arbitration, the settlement by Arbitration of all disputes between workmen and their employers, and the more equitable distribution of wealth.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14TH.

Mrs. F. Fox, of Birmingham, commenced the proceedings by praying aloud for a few minutes.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt, at the request of Signor Bonghi, the President, set forth his views on the question of But the members of his Committee were practical introducing educational reforms, with the object of gentlemen, and before embarking on any scheme they imbuing young persons with a love of Peace. He recommended a Peace propaganda amongst the University

students of Europe and America.

M. Frederic Passy spoke on the same theme. He urged the study of foreign languages by the young. "We, assembled here," he said, "I suppose, all think ourselves fairly well-instructed persons, yet see how hard we find it to understand each other; and when people don't understand, they generally think the contrary of what is meant."

General Guiata said cruelty was taught in some schools; the children must be taught humanity to animals, as

predisposing to kindness to their own species.

Finally, a proposal was unanimously adopted, calling for the adoption in the Universities of Europe and America of measures for fostering among students feelings of respect and friendship for foreign nations.

The afternoon sitting was much occupied with the deplorable attitude of the Press generally, which, it was said, frequently published articles calculated to produce International strife; and proposals were made to start newspapers which would combat the prevalent tone.

The Congress approved of the proposal of M. Contreras, urging working men's societies to found newspapers favorable to the cause of universal Peace. It also carried a similar proposal of the Committee, which invites Peace Societies, and all lovers of Peace, to found popular newspapers with the object of neutralizing the influence of those which sow discord among nations.

Signor Bonghi submitted a demand for a discussion on the best means of bringing the influence of the Press to bear in favor of Peace, and making the papers less inclined to create difficulties, and disseminate hostile feel-

ing in international relations.

Signor E. T. Moneta, of Milan, editor of the Secolo, in a brilliant speech, seconded the President's proposal for the development of pacific tendencies in the Press. This was agreed to.

SATURDAY NIGHT, NOVEMBER 14TH.

Many members of the Congress attended the Costanzi Theatre to witness the performance of the Peace Play, entitled Amico Fritz, performed in honor of the Congress.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15TH.

The English and American Delegates invited the English-speaking residents of Rome to a public Peace Meeting, which was held at the Presbyterian Church, Via Venti Settembre. Dr. Darby, Secretary of the Peace Society, presided, and addresses were delivered by Rev. Alex. King (author of the "Cry of Christendom"), Rev. R. B. Howard and Mr. George Gillett.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16TH.

As the Congress proceeded it became abundantly evident that the forecast of Heer Van Eck would be more than justified. All matters which had been announced beforehand were carried by an overwhelming vote. "I knew more than two months ago in Paris," was the remark of one gentleman, "that this was going to be done, and you see it is decided as arranged." The local vote preponderated.

The decisions were made by "the Italians and some others"—the "some others" being a number of Roumanians and a few Frenchmen. Their presence at the Congress was welcome, but their interest in the cause of Peace was less than in other questions and their expe-

rience less than their interest.

On the morning of Monday a distinct attempt was

made to turn the Congress into a platform for political propaganda. The Socialists attempted to capture the Congress for the assertion of their ideas, and the burning questions of the day were introduced in a general and ambiguous resolution, which would have exposed the Congress to ridicule as intermeddling in the internal politics of States. A strenuous opposition was offered to this attempt by some English Delegates, which was successful, a compromise being reached in the recess which rendered the dangerous resolutions innocuous.

In the afternoon, during the last sitting of the Congress, the question of Religion was rejected by a majority of more than two to one. It was introduced only by a reference, but that was sufficient. It occurred in this wise. The Rev. Rowland B. Howard, Secretary of the American Peace Society, and Dr. Darby, as representing the kindred Society in Europe, gave notice of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That inasmuch as the spirit of war is unquestionably opposed to the precepts, example, and spirit of Jesus Christ, this Congress would gratefully acknowledge the endorsement of this truth by the recent Pan-Congregational Council at London, and the Methodist Ecumenical Conference at Washington, D. C., and appeal to churches and all persons who bear the Christian name to co-operate in securing the prevention of war and its final abolition from the earth."

Dr. Darby, in introducing the resolution, pointed out that it required no creed, expressed no opinion as to religion, and was one about which there could be no difference of opinion. It followed the lines of the last Congress in London, when certain persons had been requested to join our propaganda. They had responded, and what was asked was that we gratefully acknowledge their response, and base on it a larger appeal.

M. Bonghi said he hoped the motion would be passed unanimously, as it invoked Christian aid generally, and committed no one to the support of any particular form.

Nevertheless, this resolution was opposed fiercely. In a fiery speech, an Italian delegate - and these delegates multiplied and became more aggressive towards the close -declared it to be an approval of the Pope. Mr. Howard made a further appeal, but in vain. The Marquis Alfieri di Sostegno opposed the motion, on the ground that no religious question ought to be raised there; they had assembled in the name of the religion of humanity, and he moved what he termed a "resolution prejudicial," "That the resolution be rejected as being beyond the the scope of the Congress," and this resolution was adopted by 65 to 30 votes, a number of delegates abstaining from voting. The English and American delegates were evidently astonished, not knowing how inextricably the religious question is entangled with political ones in Italy.

Rev. R. B. Howard, of Boston, and Dr. Darby, of London, moved and seconded a resolution expressing cordial approval of the action of citizens of the United States in efforts to secure that, during the Chicago Exhibition, a congress of delegates from the Governments of civilized countries should be held in that city for the purpose of advocating International Arbitration. It was decided, however, that the discussion of the motion should be postponed until the next Congress, the task of the present Congress being limited to the proclamation of the principles of Arbitration.

Various propositions formulated in the morning were

accepted in principle, including the motion of Senor Marcoartu in favor of the freedom and the neutrality of all Isthmuses and Straits, that of Signor Moneta in favor of the institution of a permanent International Congress, and that of Signor Carpi advocating the promotion amongst the members of all labor societies of the movement in favor of Peace and Arbitration.

M. Pleva made a speech in favor of respecting the rights of nationalities. Dr. Clark, M. P., objected to this theory, and declared that England would never allow the Irish question to be brought forward for discussion by

At its final meeting the Congress adopted a resolution to the European Governments to submit their differences to arbitration, and decided that the next Congress should be held at Berne.

Hearty votes of thanks were passed, to the Italian Government and people, and to the Roman civic authorities for their splendid hospitality and cordial welcome, also to the President and officers of the Congress.

The proceedings were brought to a close with a much applauded speech from Signor Bonghi, who declared that "the future of mankind belongs to the Pacific Idea."

EXCURSION TO NAPLES.

After the Congress the members were conveyed to Naples and back, and entertained in various ways, at the expense of the Italian Government and the local authori-

RESPONSE FOR AMERICA.

At the opening of the Universal World's Congress at Rome, November 11, after an address of welcome from President Bonghi of Rome and responses from Austria, England, France, Switzerland and other countries, the committee requested Rev. R. B. Howard to respond for America, which he did in a five minutes address, as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Con-

Our country is more remote from this spot than any represented here to-day, but is not out of touch with mankind and with the objects for which we meet. touch the entire world in this that the people of every nation go to make up our citizens. I was glad to go to Paris in 1889 and express our fellowship for republican France, bound to America by many endearing ties, especially those of a common science and a common liberty. I was rejoiced to go to London in 1890 and express to the people who speak our mother tongue, the abiding affection of their kin across the sea. If possible, I am more glad to come to Rome, the capital of Italy, united, free, and here among associations, classical and ecclesiastical, which my countrymen share with you, and which make this country a university of art, a teacher of beauty, and to assure you of the good-will of our people. One of the last things I witnessed in our city of Boston, and which I was glad to witness, was a parade in honor of your great, kind Victor Emmanuel.

I can assure you from the heart that for King Humbert, the government and people of Italy I desire nothing more than that there should be, as between the government and people of the United States of America, everlasting peace. we inherited is always a part of us.

THE HIGHER FAITH.

O God! the path of grief has been My way of guidance unto thee; And still, though clouds that shut me in I follow, though I cannot see.

Or tears or sunshine, as thou wilt, Or joy, or pain, or ease or strife, So be it; to thy purpose built, Diviner uses mold my life.

— James Buckham.

LETTER FROM ROBERT TREAT PAINE.

Boston, Mass., U. S. A., Oct. 22, 1891.

To Signor Bonghi, Deputé President Universal Peace Congress, Rome:

DEAR AND HONORED SIR — The American Peace Society desires to send to you as the presiding officer of the Peace Congress, soon to convene at Rome, and also to the Congress, its most sincere greetings.

I regret deeply that I am not able to be present at the Congress and that others of our members who are deeply interested in the great cause which you meet to promote will not be able to be with you; but I feel sure that our Society will be ably represented by our Secretary, Rev. R. B. Howard, one of the most honored workers in the cause of peace and arbitration in America, and also by the Hon. William W. Story, well known to you all in Rome for so many years. I know they will express to the Congress the profound feelings of respect and admiration for Italy and Italians, which are cherished in the United States; and our most earnest wish that relations of amity may be established between these two countries already attached to each other by so many ties.

May the Congress at Rome succeed in extending more widely the principle of arbitration, to which the United States has given official approval in compliances with resolves of the National Congress and the enlightened sentiment of our people. We shall welcome the representation of Italy at the International Exposition of 1893, at Chicago; and believe that the arts of Italy need only to be seen in our country to command admiration and to largely increase the relations of friendly commerce, which surely extend the feelings of human brotherhood.

Accept, my dear sir, the assurance of my own profound respect for yourself and the Congress.

Yours sincerely, ROBERT TREAT PAINE, President of the American Peace Society.

AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE.

The indifference of soldiers' children to peace is greater than that of their fathers. The children born during and immediately subsequent to our civil war bear hereditary war marks. It may be said of each as Cowper said of the childhood of the British nation:

> Thou wast born amidst the din of arms, And sucked a breast that panted with alarms, While yet thou wast a grovelling, puling chit, Thy bones not fashioned, and thy joints not knit.

What we learned in manhood we may forget. What